342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 342 [162] The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 596 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

• 291 [287] Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 177 797 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

•291 177 797 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 302 [301] [824] For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremities with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 302 571 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

302 [751] [413]

301 177 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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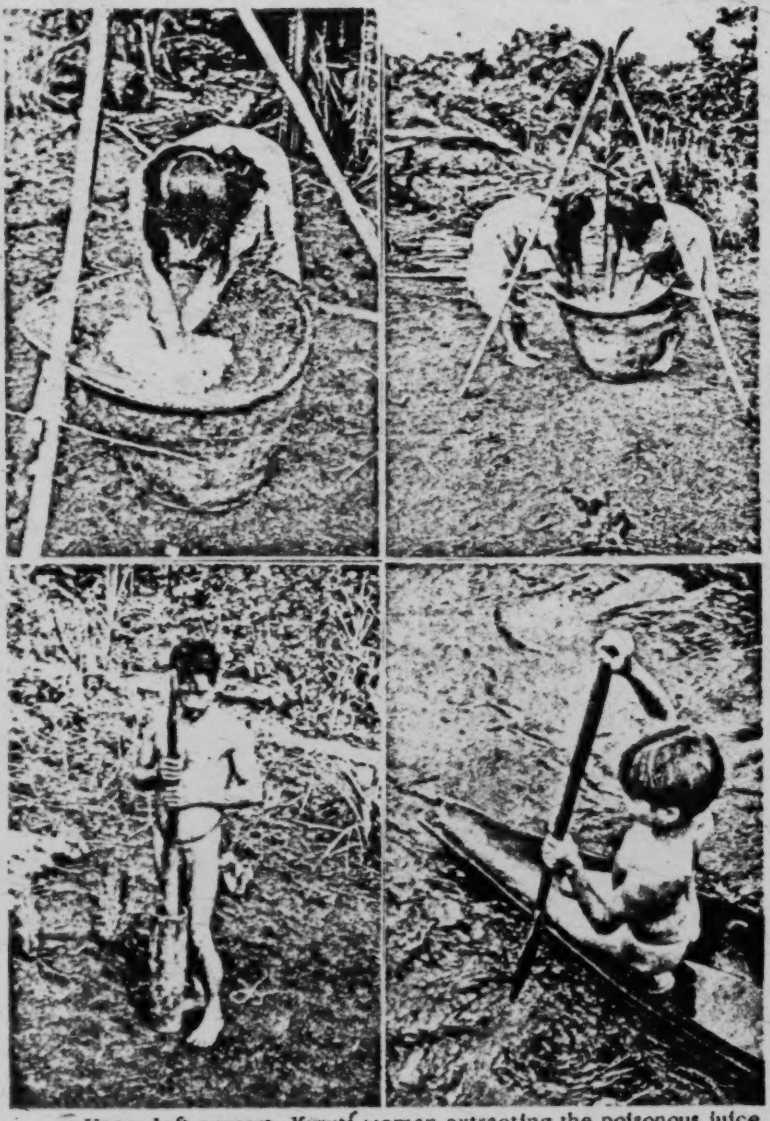

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3t Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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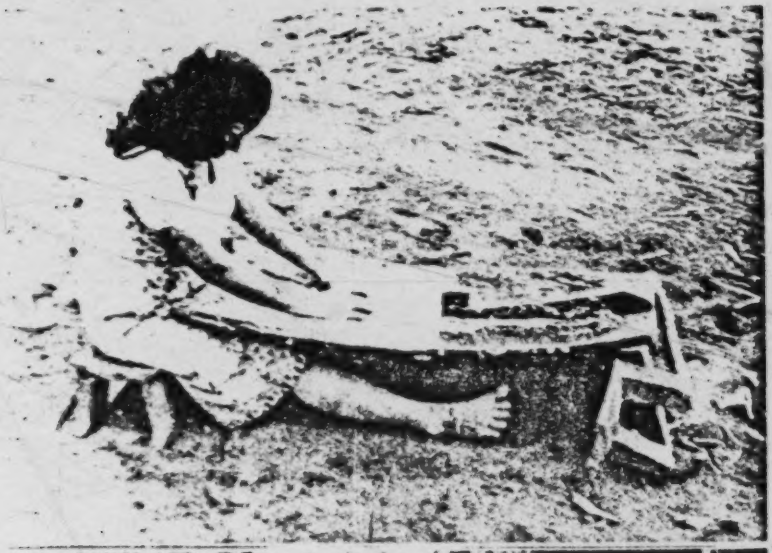

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

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Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/43 cont./

101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupés). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo, S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

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153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present [438] to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We • [291] summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc [285] presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

177 His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they de-
829 nominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. [342] And he does it with encouraging results: for example, in the [291] construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 • 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/198 cont./

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches, and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 • 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

• 291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 296 462 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make, maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

192 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loincloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuêio in Nheengatú) (41),
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41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

[532]
[764]

/210 cont./

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/footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

[171]

42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

/210 cont./

291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43),

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the headwaters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] [177] As for the tanga (44)

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

/211 cont./

291 *[192] [178] [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 178 262

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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*192 562 178 • 291

e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ĩ be'tó or i'ĩ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtĩ bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/314 cont./

*192 • 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá íí-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/).

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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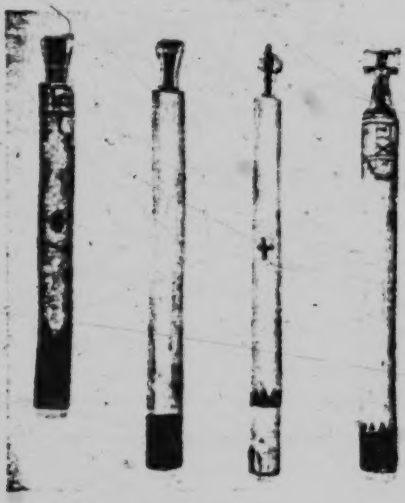

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104):

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> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/364 cont./

789 824 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

* [192] [226] [832] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 • 291 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 825 * [192] c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small woodpecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clearing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tírosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

• 291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./
• 291 to receive him (104);

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104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

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As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

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105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

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As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

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106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

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As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

[832] perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt. Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/389 cont./

831 291 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 838 839 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé, pa-daresé, dará-ɣãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

/396 cont./

192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Perikũ yavĩ-i-i davyá (Yavĩ = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá maryé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpẽkã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tãe! tãá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small *mestizo*-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house
[346] form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
•291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiarí, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiarí I saw no man in European dress.

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The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Carihan or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupían lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiarí who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese.

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The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo,

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A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When women from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cultivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

Fig. 9. Preparing manioc.

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In [574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." 601 602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means [193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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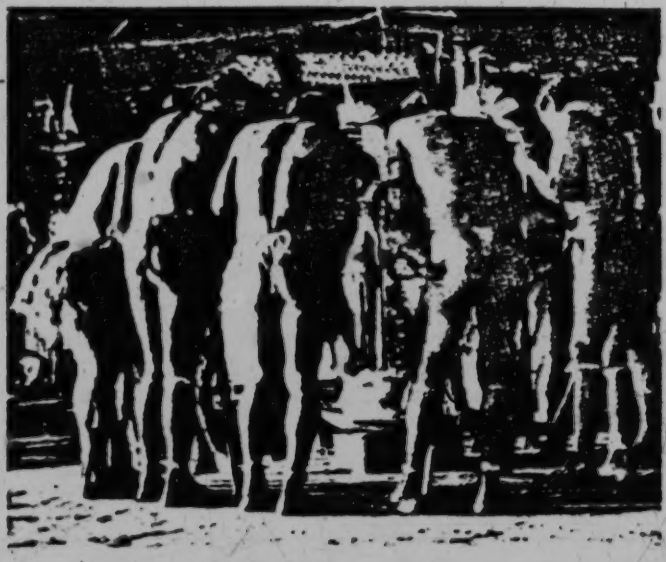

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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Fig. 6. 'Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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Fig. 8 *Bahukiwa* mother and child.

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

• 291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult. 769 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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532 *Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both
765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a
786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks
182 at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme
[775] emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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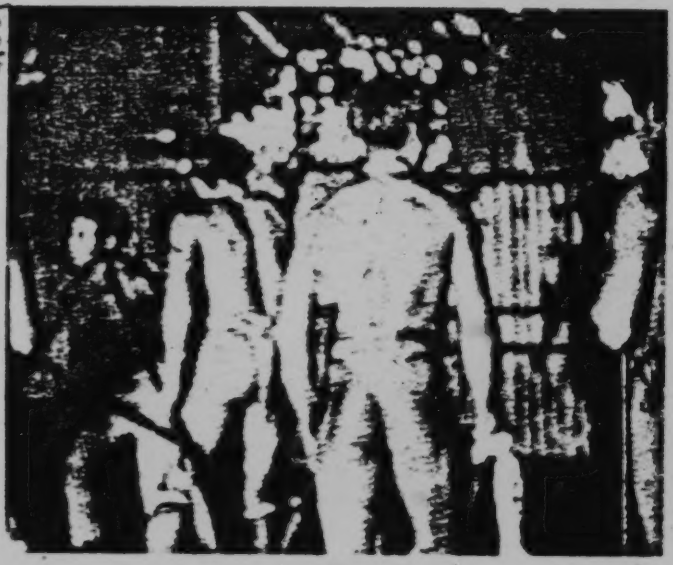

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags.

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe.

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti.

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us.

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

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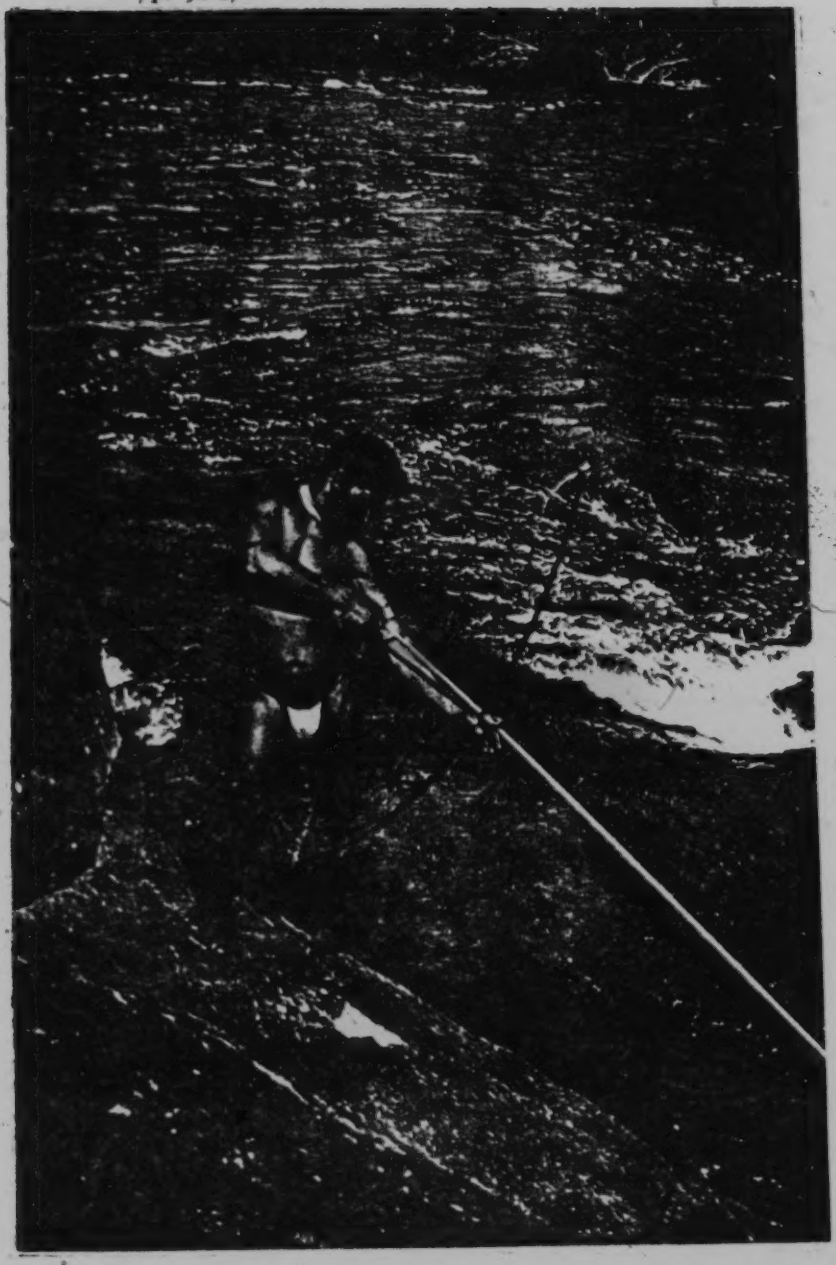

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

4

The Forest Addicts

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person 164 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more • 291 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a 301 strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run; whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves 147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face 302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his 411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis- 609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into 152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband 593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love, 85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people, 888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is